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RESURRECTION AND JUDGMENT
IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

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Robert David Gamble

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The first Christian sermon, as reported in the second chapter of Acts, has one simple point to make: God raised Jesus from the dead. The men who heard this sermon by Peter were "cut to the heart," and immediately demanded, "What shall we do?" Peter replied: "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sins; and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit." (Acts 2:37-38)¹

Merely the proof that the resurrection of the messiah had been foreseen in the Old Testament, and had been accomplished in Jesus Christ was enough to bring men into the early Christian church. Clearly, the concept of resurrection is central to Christian thought.

I. RESURRECTION IN THE OLD TESTAMENT: THE PROBLEM

In his sermon, Peter "demonstrates" that resurrection is foreseen in the Old Testament. Jesus Himself clearly believed in resurrection, and argued for it against the Sadducees, who did not accept the idea, by using OT proof texts. (Mk 12:24-27) Jesus believed of Himself, and Christians believe of Him, that He came to fulfill the Old Testament; and so, in a concept as important as resurrection, He should be correct.

Yet in the Old Testament itself, the idea of resurrection is difficult to find. Most proof-texts, when examined closely, develop

1. Quotations from the Bible and the Apocrypha are taken from the Revised Standard Version, unless otherwise noted.

great problems and difficulties in interpretation; and other Old Testament passages indicate that there was no expectation of any life after death. Only in the latest book of the Old Testament, Daniel, is there a clear statement of the idea that some of the dead will return to life again.

This thesis will examine the problem of the traces of resurrection in the Old Testament, and will attempt to follow the development of the idea, focusing in particular on the relationship of this idea to Israel's faith in the justice of God's judgment. For in both Judaism and Christianity, God gives commandments to those who would serve Him, and He will judge His servants under these commands, and if, as believing servants of God, we hope to attain resurrection, it will be through His judgment that we do so.

II. THE TOPICS TO BE EXAMINED

The following chapter will begin with an examination of the Hebrew ideas of life and death, setting forth the general concepts which were to be developed into an idea of resurrection. Chapter III will then discuss the idea of the justice of God's judgment, and its close connection with the idea of life throughout the development of Israel's thought. Chapter IV will examine particular Old Testament passages which seem to indicate a belief in resurrection, or the establishment of eternal life. And finally, before a summary of conclusions, Chapter V will examine the climactic passage from Daniel which does indeed state a doctrine of resurrection.

III. LIMITATIONS

The subject is an enormous one, which I have found myself unable to cover, to my own satisfaction. I have therefore found

it necessary to omit consideration of many extremely important aspects.

First, I have somewhat artificially restricted myself, for the most part, to material within the Old Testament itself. Much supportive or explanatory material could be found in the New Testament, or in later Jewish writings and traditions. I have also not made use of comparative materials from the other cultures which surrounded and influenced Israel as her thought evolved. The Egyptian ideas of life after death, the Canaanite theme of annual death and resurrection, and the Persian concept of a resurrection at the end of time all obviously influenced the form which Israel's concept of resurrection took as it developed. My desire, however, is to trace out the path of development within the Old Testament itself, and I hope to prove that, while comparative material illuminates and explains much, it is not entirely necessary.

Secondly, I have, for the most part, not dealt with the wealth of evidence in the Psalms, for two reasons. First, more than most other books of the Old Testament, the Psalms borrow from other cultures; and the task of sorting out these traces and the modifications made was, I felt, beyond my abilities. Secondly, I wish to trace out a chronological progression of thought, and the dating of materials in each psalm is an extremely complex task, if not an impossible one.

In general, I have purposely adopted a rather naive critical view, and have dealt with the materials without always attempting to deal with the range of critical viewpoints. As far as possible, I have accepted the larger blocks of material as unities, unless the separation of strands appeared important.

By focusing upon the theme of God's justice, in the development of Old Testament thought towards the idea of resurrection, I have largely ignored another closely allied aspect, that of God's power, which is the major theme of Robert Martin-Achard's From Death to Life.² Martin-Achard shows how Israel could not accept death's negation of God's power, just as this thesis asserts that Israel could not accept death's negation of His justice.

Finally, the most important element which this thesis will not include is the concept of God's grace and mercy. I will say a great deal about the justice of God's judgment, about His punishment of the wicked, and His reward of the righteous. But this will lead to a distorted, mechanistic view of Israel's thought unless it is remembered that no Israelite presumed he could attain righteousness without God's mercy. The fact that the Israelites could see righteous men not being rewarded in this life may have brought Israel towards a concept of resurrection; but Israel recognized that man is sinful, and that he can attain righteousness and its just reward only through the gracious mercy of God.

2. Martin-Achard, Robert From Death to Life
(Edinburgh, 1960, Oliver and Boyd)

CHAPTER II

OLD TESTAMENT IDEAS OF LIFE AND DEATH

An understanding of the idea of resurrection in the Old Testament must, of course, begin with an examination of what the OT writers understood by the ideas of "life" and "death". Yet an analysis of the OT understanding of any such abstract terms or concepts is a very dangerous undertaking, for the OT was written and edited, over many centuries, by men who had no concept of technical terms and definitions. A people whose poetry was based on parallelism sensed that it is impossible for words to have an exact, precise meaning. They saw that ideas could be captured most fully only if they were stated twice, in different words, or contrasted with their opposite. So if we attempt to examine any one concept, we can expect to find that the words which are used will be constantly shifting and merging with other ideas, refusing to maintain any precise, independent existence of their own.

In the Hebrew idea of "life" there is an especially strong unity which opposes any attempt to analyze it and separate it into components. Any such separation in fact negates life, and, in this sense, is death. This unity, which runs counter to any attempt to analyze the abstract idea is, I intend to show,¹ the cause of tensions which made the concept of resurrection become necessary for the later Israelites. And as a Christian, I personally have faith that this

1. See p. 11

led to God's making a resurrection take place as an event in history.²

I. "LIFE" FOR THE INDIVIDUAL

An examination of the concept of "life" for the individual which breaks it into component parts may be imposing modern abstract concepts unnaturally upon the Hebrew idea; but I find that an attempt to understand the Hebrew concept leads to four major components which are bound up in the larger unity. We will examine below the ideas of soul, physical body, and God-given life-force which the Hebrew individual would possess, and then go on to discuss the verb "to live", and what that meant for the Hebrew man.

A. THE SOUL

For the Hebrew individual, the basic identity of a man seems to be centered in the term nephesh. This term is almost always translated as psuché in the Septuagint. In about two-thirds of its occurrences, the KJV translates nephesh as "soul", about one-sixth of the occurrences are translated as "life" and the remainder by a variety of terms, such as "person", "creature" and "heart". In the majority of cases, the RSV revises the translation to make nephesh a personal pronoun (i.e. in Du 12:20, the KJV translation "thy soul longeth" becomes "you crave" in the RSV) or else translates the word as "person". Almost every time the KJV translates the word as "life", however, that reading is retained, and about one-tenth of the KJV's

2. The New Testament contains documents describing the resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth in the first century A.D. This evidence is not sufficient to serve as proof of an historical event in conventional terms. The judgment must be one of faith, which I here affirm.

"soul" translations are also revised to read "life". The RSV also translates nephesh as "soul" about one-fourth of the time, and has a few other readings, such as "heart".

The most vivid proof of the identification of the nephesh with a man's life is that when a man's enemies seek to kill him, they "seek his nephesh". (Ex 4:19; I Sa 20:1, I Ki 19:14; Jer 11:21; etc.)

Since the Hebrews did not make distinctions between the material and the immaterial, the nephesh cannot be considered immaterial. Aubrey Johnson feels that "there is reason to believe that nephesh, like the cognate Accadian Napistu and the Ugaritic nps¹, was used inter alia to denote the 'throat' or 'neck', i.e. as the organ through which one breathed."³ In Isaiah, the word is used in parallel with "mouth", and nephesh becomes something which Sheol can open to swallow the wicked Jerusalem. (Is 5:14) In the Priestly code the nephesh is closely associated with the blood, as is emphatically stated in the prohibition of eating it:

For the nephesh of the flesh, in the blood it is....

For the nephesh of all flesh, its blood in its nephesh it is....

For the nephesh of all flesh, its blood it is. (Lev 17:11, 14*)⁴

At its most extreme, the nephesh is seen so closely associated with a physical part of man that in itself it can be almost physical.

Yet the nephesh is also what we, with our Greek heritage, would tend to view as the immaterial soul, the center of a man's identity. As the RSV translators recognize, nephesh is often used simply for

3. Johnson, Aubrey The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel (Cardiff, 1964, University of Wales Press) p.4

4. Biblical references translated by the writer will be starred.

"person" (Num 15:27; Josh 10:28), or, with a personal ending, as a slightly emphatic form of the personal pronoun (Judg 10:16; Jer 37:9). The nephesh is what departs from the body at death (Gen 35:18) and returns if the person revives (I Kings 7:22).⁵ Thus the nephesh is something quite material, yet not tied to the body, and contains the center of identity.

B. THE BODY

The second obvious component of the living Hebrew individual is the body, the material which is the dust that God molded into the form of a man, and into which he breathed the breath of life. The body might be divided into parts, such as "flesh", "bones", "bowels", "heart", "hand", etc., but there is a real and vital unity among all the parts of the body. As Johnson shows,⁶ there is no real distinction. Any named part can stand for the whole man,--flesh, bones, heart, head, hand, foot, or whatever aspect of the whole man is most important to the discussion. A scholar like Oesterly⁷ feels it is necessary to devote a special section to the bones of a man; yet I feel that they cannot be seen as distinct, and are referred to only as the most central and long-lasting part of a man's body.

C. THE LIFE-FORCE

"Body" and "soul" alone lead to a dualistic understanding of life for the individual. Casual modern thought usually tends to talk in these terms, and it is easy to read this dualism into OT

5. See p.13

6. Johnson, A. op cit, part III

7. Oesterly, W.O.E., Immortality and the Unseen World (London, 1921, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge) p. 20

thought, when the nephesh departs at death, or is poured out with the blood when an animal is slaughtered.⁸ But the Hebrew also had a strong sense that all life is from God: and when the problem is more consciously examined in the OT, there is a third aspect which must be taken into consideration.

In the Yahwist's story of creation, God formed man from the dust, and then breathed into his nostrils the neshama chaiyim, "the breath of life," and man became a nephesh chaya, "a living soul" (Gen 2:7)

While the word used here is "breath", we can safely identify this breathing-in of life as the concept which developed into the ruach of God. For in a vision of Ezekiel we have a close, and almost certainly conscious parallel of the giving of life to Adam. (Ezek 37) Ezekiel is shown a valley of dry bones. He is told to prophesy to them, and does so. The bones come together, and sinews, flesh and skin cover them. We have, then, fully formed bodies; yet they do not live: "but there was no ruach in them." (Ezek 37:8). Ezekiel is then told:

Prophecy to the ruach, son of man, and say to the ruach, Thus says the Lord God: Come from the four ruachs, O ruach, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live. So I prophesied as he commanded me, and the ruach came into them, and they lived. (Ezek 37:9-10)

Because Ezekiel has eliminated the unsophisticated Yahwist's anthropomorphic God breathing, it is the ruach which breaths upon the lifeless body and causes it to live. We can see clearly that the ruach is the life-force which must enter the body in order for it to live.

8. See p. 7

Ruach is a word whose Semitic root "everywhere points to an initial awareness of air in motion, particularly 'wind'."⁹ As can be seen in the passage above, the ruach which gives life is associated with the "four ruachs" or winds. Like wind, the ruach is generally seen as an impersonal, or non-individualistic force, although the spiritual ruach always has a personal effect upon individuals. There can be a ruach of deep sleep (Is 29:10), of whoredom (Hos 4:12), of jealousy (Num 5:14), of justice (Is 28:6), or of wisdom (Du 34:9). In general it is seen, of course, as the Lord's spirit, as the ruach of God which moved upon the face of the waters in Gen 1:2. It is the force which God can pour out to inspire his chosen men. In Psalm 51, the psalmist, asking for forgiveness and purging, pleads for this kind of ruach:

A ruach new and steadfast /put/within me....
 The ruach of thy holiness take not from me....
 And a ruach willing uphold me. (Ps 51:10-12*)

But the ruach is also the force of life which is within a man, which he possesses, and which can evidently ebb and flow as he loses or gains strength. Thus, when the mourning Jacob is told that his son Joseph is actually alive, his "ruach lived." (Gen 45:27) When Samson, nearly dying of thirst, is able to drink, "his ruach returned, and he lived." (Judg 15:19) When Elijah is taken up into heaven, it is his ruach that Elisha requests and receives. (2 Kings 2:10, 15) Finally, at the flood, God destroys all flesh "in which there is the ruach of life." (Gen 6:17-P)

We have, then, as a component of the life of the individual, a rather impersonal force, which must be recognized when the process of life, or of inspiration, coming from God is discussed by the Hebrew writers.

9. Johnson, A. op cit. p. 23

D. LIVING

Finally, we must examine the verb for "living". Chayah is generally used as a verb, but in a plural form, chaiyim, it is often used as a noun. In prose, the commonest use of the noun chaiyim seems to refer, not so much to the state of being alive, as to the process of living, the passage of a man's history and biography. We find it most often in such phrases as: "In such and such a year of his chaiyim", and: "The time of his chaiyim", and: "All the days of his chaiyim."

But the same word is also used at the most important and crucial moments, when the total process of life must be taken into account. Thus, God breathes the "breath of chaiyim" into Adam's nostrils. (Gen 2:7-J) At the flood, God will destroy "all flesh in which there is the spirit of chaiyim." (Gen 6:17-P) And in the garden of Eden is the "tree of chaiyim." When Deuteronomy ascribes life and death to God,--"I kill and make alive" (Du 32:39-D) it is the verb chayah that is used.

The strongest oath in the Bible is "as the Lord lives." (Num 14:21; Judg 8:19; 1 Sam 14:39; 1 Kings 1:29; Jer 4:2; Ezek 5:11; Hos 4:15; etc.) Occasionally it is also used of great men, such as David, Eli, and Elisha. The best greeting for the king is: "May the king live!" and this, Johnson shows,¹⁰ means not simply being alive, but living in full power, not "may the king stay alive," but "may the king live in health and prosperity, with unweakened ruach."

10. Johnson, A. op cit, p. 97

To live, and life (chaiyim), therefore, mean far more than merely being alive; they mean that all parts of a man, body, soul, and life-force, are joined in full strength. To live, in the OT, did not simply mean to have nephesh and body joined, nor even to have the ruach fully present. It meant to have all three aspects of life joined through a length of time.

II. "DEATH" FOR THE INDIVIDUAL

The idea of death is capable of bearing a great deal of philosophical speculation. It can also be an extremely simple and readily understood fact. In the OT, there is little abstract speculation about death.

A. TERMS AND DESCRIPTIONS

1. Muth. The basic verb for dying is muth. This term seems to be used when death is a simple statement of fact, when there is no "slaying" or "perishing" or other special aspect to the death. The word itself seems to have no special inference or connotations, and is used when the death is nothing more than a fact in the narrative, as, for example: "The sons of Judah: Er, Onan, Shelah, Perez and Zerah (but Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan)." (Gen 46:12) or: "But Elimelech, the husband of Naomi, died." (Ruth 1:3)

2. Gava. A second word is used for dying which seems more closely connected with the process of death. Our translations see gava as being connected with the idea of choking, or losing breath. The KJV usually uses "gave up the ghost", while the RSV tends to use "breathed his last." One usage, in Psalm 104, makes the connection with breathing explicit: "When thou takest away their

breath, they die /gava/" (Ps 104:29) Thus this verb confirms the concept of life and the nephesh being closely related to the process of breathing. This verb is used only rarely, at the death of the patriarchs, for the death of all flesh in the flood (Gen 6:17-P and 7:21-P), and in a few other usages where the language seems to be striving for a poetic effect.¹¹

3. Departure of the nephesh. Descriptions of the process of dying are rare in the OT, but there are two which indicate clearly that death was seen as the departure of the nephesh from the body. When Rachel names her second son, the Hebrew explains that it was done as she was dying by saying: "And it was as her nephesh was departing, for she died,...." (Gen 35:18) Similarly, when Elijah seeks to revive the widow's son, he prays, "Oh Lord, let this child's nephesh come into him again....And the nephesh of the child came into him again, and he lived." (1 Kings 17:21-22) Thus, where the process is specified, death is seen as the departure of the nephesh from the body.

4. Death formulas. In the historical books of the OT, we have a series of formulas reporting the deaths of important people which gives an indication of the concept of death.

In Genesis, in passages ascribed to P, the deaths of the three patriarchs and Ishmael read: "And he breathed his last /gava/, and he died," and "he was gathered to his people." (Gen 25:8; 25:17; 35:29; 49:33) The burial of each patriarch is specified, and each formula has other details added as appropriate.

We should note that the phrase, "he was gathered to his people," which might seem to refer to burial in a common grave, is evidently

11. Num 27:12-13; 20:3; Josh 22:20; Zech 13:8; Lam 1:19, and a number of usages in Job and Psalms.

more than that, and may in itself be a concept of dying. In each case it is used before burial. Abraham is "gathered to his people" when, presumably, there is only Sarah in his grave. In the case of Jacob, further action is inserted before Joseph is able to take the body to the land of Canaan for burial. The fact that "gathered to his people" may in itself be a concept of death has implications which will be discussed below.¹²

In the later books of the Pentateuch, the phrase becomes simplified. Moses (Du 34:5-JE), Aaron (Du 10:6-D) and Miriam (Num 20:1-P) employ, with slight variations, the formula: "and he died there, and was buried there." Joshua (Josh 24:29-30) and almost all of the judges also have this basic formula used for them.

Kings restores (and Chronicles preserves) the concept of "he was gathered to his people" in a modified form. Both narratives use the euphemistic formula "and he slept /or, 'lay down'/ with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David."

Only in the Priestly genealogical tables in Genesis does there seem to be no interest in the burial. In the post-flood capsule biographies, the formula simply ends: "And A lived after the birth of B /his firstborn/ xx years, and had other sons and daughters." The reader must assume the death, which is not specifically mentioned. In the pre-flood genealogy, a final sentence is included in this formula: "Thus all the days of A were xx years; and he died."

B. A CULT OF THE DEAD

Except for the earliest fathers (whose burial places could not have been known) the death formulas indicate a special interest

12. See p. 15

in burial. Stories such as the instructions of Jacob and Joseph, and the rescue of the bodies of Saul and his three sons confirm this importance. Isaiah and Jeremiah indicate the importance of a proper burial by using the threat that a lack of burial will be part of the Lord's judgment. (Is 34:3; Jer 14:16) Jeremiah even threatens that the bones of all the prominent inhabitants of Jerusalem will be brought out of their tombs to be spread out on the ground and rot as dung. (Jer 8:1-2) Even the preacher in Ecclesiastes seems to feel that a good burial is as important as a happy life:

If a man begets a hundred children, and lives many years, so that the days of his years are many, but he does not enjoy life's good things, and also has no burial, I say that an untimely birth is better off than he. (Eccles 6:3)

This interest in proper burial would, in most societies, indicate some sort of cult of the dead.

The phrase "gathered to his people"¹³ used as a concept of death would also indicate some sense of the dead of the Hebrew people being a united "spiritual body" to which the living Hebrews should pay attention. Yet the orthodox theology of the Hebrews in the OT leaves no place for any cult of the dead. Offerings are to be made to God alone. Offerings to the dead (Du 26:14) and necromancy (Lev 19:31; Is 8:19) are strictly forbidden.

The special interest in burial and the dead would indicate, therefore, that before the worship of Yahweh, Israel had some sort of ancestor cult. While the Mosaic law eliminated the theological practices of this cult, it did not eliminate the feeling of the

¹³. See p. 13

importance of proper burial of family members, the fear of not being buried, or the interest in graves. In his book, La Vie Future dans L'Antiquité Isrealite, Adolphe Lods explores this early cult of the dead. Although he offers little evidence other than comparative anthropology and sensible speculation, he makes a good case for such a cult. If this kind of cult does indeed underlie Hebrew religion, we can expect to find a much stronger interest in the state of the dead after life than we might expect from simple Yahwistic theology.

C. THE INDIVIDUAL AFTER DEATH

We have seen that at death, the Hebrews believed that the nephesh separated itself from the body. But where did it go? What did the Hebrew individual expect for himself as a conscious being after his death?

When any answer is given to this question in the OT, it seems to point towards Shēōl. The word itself is not very common. It is used only 66 times in the OT, most frequently in poetic usage in the Psalms. But many passages, while not specifying Shēōl, point towards the concept.

Shēōl is, to begin with, evidently a geographical term for a cavity in the most extreme depths of earth. At times the term is used simply as this most distant point: "You sent your envoys far off, and sent down even to Shēōl." (Is 57:9) "Though they dig into Shēōl, from there shall my hand take them; though they climb up to heaven, from there will I search them out and take them." (Amos 9:2)

A saying, whose use in dialogue by both Jacob and David makes it sound proverbial, indicates that the soul, or "conscious existence" was in Shēōl after death. Jacob, begging that Benjamin not be taken from him, tells his sons, "You would bring my gray hairs with sorrow to Shēōl," (Gen 42:38) and his sons later repeat this to Joseph in their strong plea for the release of Benjamin. Similarly, David, in telling Solomon to execute Joab, says, "Do not let his gray head go down to Shēōl in peace." (1 Kings 2:6) Again, both Jacob and David apparently expect to be consciously reunited with their loved ones after death in Shēōl. Jacob, reacting to the news of Joseph's "death", says: "I shall go down to Shēōl, to my son, mourning." (Gen 37:35) And David, while not specifying Shēōl, says after the death of his infant son, "I shall go to him, but he will not return to me." (2 Sam 12:23) Neither man seems to expect the joyous, complete reunion that is often envisioned in Christian ideas of heaven; yet they do seem to expect a meeting that will be more than simply lying together in death.

In poetic language, Shēōl seems to have become more and more a synonym for death, and it is often used in simple parallelism with death. In the Song of Hannah, she says: "The Lord kills and brings to life; he brings down to Shēōl and raises up." (1 Sam 2:6) A similar example is found in Habbakuk: "His greed is as wide as Shēōl; like death he has never enough." (Hab 2:5)

In poetic language bor ("pit") and shachath ("ditch") are used as substitutes for Shēōl. Shachath is a particularly appropriate word, since its constant use in parallel with "snare" indicates

that it was used to trap animals, and at the same time the root of the word is associated with "corruption," which, naturally, is vividly connected with death.

Finally, in the prophets, Shēōl even becomes a force in its own right, one of death and evil, and opposition to God. As the ditch, or like the snare, Shēōl reaches out to trap men. It is, in the Habbakuk passage quoted above,¹⁴ greedy. In Isaiah, since the evil of the people has increased, "Therefore Shēōl has enlarged its appetite and opened its mouth beyond measure." (Is 5:14) And Shēōl becomes something evil with which men can make a covenant, the ultimate betrayal of their covenant with God: "We have made a covenant with death, and with Shēōl we have made an agreement." (Is 28:15)

It is unclear whether or not God has power over Shēōl. Especially when Shēōl is seen as a geographical area, God seems to have power over it, as well as over the rest of creation. (Amos 9:2; Du 32:22) But when Shēōl is seen as the realm of the dead, there is a real question. Hezekiah laments that he may be sent to Shēōl in the midst of his life, "For Shēōl cannot thank thee; death cannot praise thee." (Is 38:18) The Psalmist also questions it: "I am....like one forsaken among the dead, like the slain that lie in the grave, like those whom thou doest remember no more, for they are cut off from thy hand." (Ps 88:5) The Lord is the Living God: and since death is the negation of this, there is a serious question whether he reigns there, whether the dead can remain in touch with him.

¹⁴. See p. 17

The preacher, in Ecclesiastes, would believe that there is no consciousness in Shēōl:

But the dead know nothing....Their love and their hate and their envy have already perished, and they have no more for ever any share in all that is done under the sun. (Eccles 9:5-6)

But in most of the OT, there does seem to be a certain existence in Shēōl. The word used to describe "souls" in this existence is rephaim, usually translated as "shades". The root of the word seems to indicate their weakness. In most references, the shades are entirely passive, or, as in Psalm 88:10, their ability to praise God is questioned. Their one active appearance is when Isaiah describes them greeting the king of Babylon in Shēōl, taunting him because he is now as weak as they. (Is 14:9-11)

Communication with the dead through mediums seems to have been a live option for Hebrews which it was necessary to condemn (Lev 19:31; Is 8:19), and we have one case in which a dead man is called back, when Saul consults Samuel through the medium at Endor. Here we might expect Samuel to be one of the rephaim, or a bodyless nephesh, but these terms are not used. They would probably be inappropriate for a man who was so great in life. And so Samuel, arising from the earth, is described as an elohim, "a god". We cannot tell if he possessed a visible form, or if he assumes it to be seen. Samuel is angered at being disturbed. The only hope for existence in Shēōl, even for such a great and godly man as Samuel, this story seems to indicate, is nothing more than to rest undisturbed.

Yet, while even Samuel rests in Shēōl, there is a sense in which Shēōl is a punishment. The taunt song against the king of Babylon in Isaiah, as he enters Shēōl, indicates that he is "cast

out, away from his/sepulchre," because, the shades tell him, "you have destroyed your land, you have slain your people." (Is 14:19-20) And when there is a revolt against Moses, the terrible punishment of its leader Korah is that the ground opens, and he and his family are swallowed and go down to Shēōl alive. (Num 16:30)

There is, then, an existence after death for the Hebrew; but it is an existence in Shēōl, a place which is separated from, and which negates the rule of the Living God.

D. DEATH IS UNCLEAN

One further source of evidence for the Hebrew understanding of death can be found in the laws of ritual purity, set forth in the Priestly code. The laws make death, and a dead man's body among the most unclean objects that can contaminate a Hebrew.

There are three most serious categories of physical uncleanness which the Mosaic law commands should be excluded from the Israelite camp. The first is the leper, the second is the person suffering from a discharge, and the third is the person who is unclean through contact with a dead body. (Num 5:2) While most cases of becoming unclean through contact with something unclean require only one day for purification, contact with the dead requires seven days, the same requirement as for recovery from leprosy and a discharge. (Num 19:11; Lev 14:8; Lev 13:15) Nazirites and priests are forbidden (with a few special exceptions for the latter) to have any defiling contact with the dead. (Num 6:6; Lev 21:11; Ezek 44:25)

This special power of the dead body to contaminate indicates how far removed death is from God. Though all men will die, the

Mosaic law shows an understanding that death is indeed the negation of God's rule over men, a negation with such force that those who come in contact with a dead body are temporarily unfitted for God's presence.

III. LIFE AND DEATH FOR THE COMMUNITY

Thus far we have been examining the concept of life and death as they apply to the individual. But in a very important sense, life for the Israelite was not the life of the individual, but rather the life of his whole community. We can see this, in part, in the strong emphasis that is placed on leaving behind a son. A major theme in the life of Abraham is his need for an heir. The daughters of Lot commit incest with their father in order to continue life. When Saul accepts the fact that David will become his plea is that David "will not cut off my descendents after me, and that you will not destroy my name out of my father's house." (1 Sam 24:21) In Psalm 109, the psalmist cursing his enemy asks that "his posterity be cut off, and his name be blotted out in the second generation." (Ps 109:13) The Levirate law of marriage provides that if a married man dies with no sons, his brother shall father one to continue the man's line. (Du 25:5-6) The importance of a man's posterity indicates that the Hebrews saw their lives continuing in their family.

The fact, as pointed out above,¹⁵ that "gathered to his people" may have been held synonymous with death would also indicate that the Hebrews saw the dead man as continuing his life in his people.

¹⁵. See p. 13

The book of Deuteronomy contains the highest expression of this understanding of life and death in terms of the whole community. The book was evidently written in a form suitable for being read to the assembled people of Israel, for in it, Moses addresses the assembled Israel of his time and recounts both the history and the laws of the people.¹⁶ The book includes the commandment that the law be read to the assembled people every seven years (Du 31:11), and emphasizes that the covenant whose history it relates was made with those who are listening: "Not with our fathers did the Lord make this covenant, but with us, who are all of us here alive today." (Du 5:3) Thus there is here an important ceremonial confirmation that the assembly of Israel that hears the law every seven years is indeed the life of the original community.

At the high point of the book, after outlining the law, Moses sets the choice of obedience before the people in terms of life and death:

I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and curse: therefore choose life, that you and your descendents may live, loving the Lord your God, obeying his voice, and cleaving to him; for that means life to you and length of days that you may dwell in the land.
(Du 30:19-20)

The choice of obedience or disobedience to God was the choice between life and death, not for the individual, but for the whole community

16. This understanding of Deuteronomy is in accord with the theory that it is the book found in the temple during the reign of Josiah (2 Kings 22:8), and read to the assembled people. (2 Kings 23:1-3)

of Israel.

If life was considered to be for the community, rather than for the individual, we are given some explanation for the seeming conflicts in the death of individuals. Originally, perhaps, the ancestors were worshipped, and their spirits were seen as present in the living community. After death, the dead still participated in the living community. But when the monotheistic doctrines of Jahwism made this concept impossible, and the patriarchs had to be considered merely as individuals who had lived and died under God, a conflict arose. There was still a sense of the community, and an aura and ethic relating to the community continued in Hebrew traditions and attitudes. Yet the dead had to be considered dead, no longer alive and relating to God. If the living God was to be just, He could no longer reward the dead righteous man through the community and his posterity. The righteous man could only be rewarded while alive. Yet we can be sure that the righteous Israelites were not always rewarded in life in precise proportion to their righteousness. If the Israelites were to believe that the Lord was a just God, there is a tension here which must be resolved.

CHAPTER III

JUDGMENT AND LIFE

The previous chapter suggested that Israel's concept of life and death evolved out of an early cult of the dead, and that there was, in the earliest times, no belief in a life after death for the individual, but that instead continuing existence was seen as being in the people as a whole. Only in its later writings did Israel¹ begin to deal with some of the problems of the individual's existence after death.

In this chapter, I will examine the theology of Israel as a nation, and then as individuals, standing under the judgment of God, to see how this is related to Israel's concept of life.

Deuteronomy gives a statement of Israel's claim for a special relationship to God, among all the other nations of her world.

For ask now of the days that are past, which were before you, since the day that God created man upon the earth, and ask from one end of heaven to the other, whether such a great thing as this has ever happened or was ever heard of. Did any people ever hear the voice of a god speaking out of the midst of the fire, as you have heard, and still live? Or has any god ever attempted to go and take a nation for himself from the midst of another nation, by signs, by wonders and by war....? Therefore you shall keep his statutes and his commandments, which I command you this day, that it may go well with you, and with your children after you, and that you may prolong your days in the land which the Lord your God gives you for ever /kol-hayamim: "all the days"/. (Du 4:32-34,40)

The God who created the universe and man has made special acts in the history of Israel, and has spoken directly to Israel. This

1. "Israel" will always be used to refer to the entire house of Israel. The Kingdom of Israel will be specified whenever it is discussed.

special relationship demands obedience, but obedience will ensure that Israel can live forever. Thus, there is a connection between obedience to the Lord, and life. In this chapter I will examine this concept, as it evolved, as it began to place more emphasis on the individual; and I will also discuss how the suffering and death of individuals created tensions in Israel's theology.

I. JUDGMENT IN THE PENTATEUCH

The Yahwist's introduction to Israel's saving history is definitely based upon the theme of obedience and disobedience to God, and upon God's judgments against man. The history begins with a story of man's first disobedience. The Lord commands the man, whom He has created and set in the garden: "Of the tree of knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat; for in the day that you eat of it you shall die." (Gen 2:17) The first and ultimate punishment is, therefore, death.

Yet when the man and woman do disobey, the punishment is not actually death; it is a curse that life for them will be difficult, lean and painful. The fact that the punishment is not actually death can be explained away in various ways, from the traditional concept that man at that moment became mortal, to the critical explanation that the problem is the result of the Yahwist's combination of varied source materials.² Yet, as we have seen in Chapter II,³ the association between prosperity and the idea of life would have made the contradiction less glaring for Hebrew readers.

2. For example: Simpson, Cuthbert A. "Genesis: Exegesis" The Interpreter's Bible, I, (New York, 1952, Abingdon Press) p. 304

3. See p. 11

The story of the Fall is followed by the story of the first murder. Again, the punishment should, apparently be death. Cain's fear that "Whoever finds me will slay me" (Gen 4:14), indicates that he expects to be executed by others. But the Lord gives Cain a special mark of protection, and imposes only the punishment of infertility: "When you till the ground it shall no longer yield to you its strength." (Gen 4:12)

When evil seems to encompass the world, the Lord's solution is the flood. He decides to "blot outevery living thing that I have made" (Gen 7:4-J), or, as the Priestly writer puts it, "all flesh in which there is the breath of life." (Gen 6:17-P) But the Lord saves the race of man, and all kinds of animals, and the conclusion of the story is that He accepts the "evil imagination" of man, and promises that he will not again destroy every living creature, and that he will not halt the agricultural cycle.

The pattern which Von Rad points to, in his commentary on the Yahwist,³ is one of sin, judgment, and saving action by God. And both judgment and the saving action are connected with life, either threatening it or preserving it.

The major moments of God's covenant with Israel, however, omit specific reference to the idea of life and death. God's promise to Abraham is simple "blessing", land and posterity. This is not specifically "life", yet the connection is there. As the IDB says, "In the OT, whenever the nature of blessing is clearly indicated, it consists in material prosperity,"⁴ and material prosperity pre-

3. Von Rad, Gerhard Genesis: A Commentary
(Philadelphia, 1961, the Westminster
Press) p. 148

4. Campbell, J.Y. "Blessedness" The Inter-
preter's Dictionary of the Bible. I, p.445

serves life, and is a part of it.

In the climactic giving of the law on Mount Sinai, there is no direct promise of reward. In the J-E source, the Lord merely makes the statement, "You shall be my own possession among all peoples." (Ex 19:5) The consequences and advantages of being "God's own possession" might have seemed obvious. But as Israel developed, and became a more sophisticated and settled nation, it would seem that it became necessary to spell out the connection. Thus, in Deuteronomy, in the passage quoted at the beginning of this chapter, the connection between obedience to the covenant and life is made completely explicit:

Therefore you shall keep his statutes and his commandments, which I command you this day, that it may go well with you, and with your children after you, that you may prolong your days in the land which the Lord your God gives you forever. (Du 4:40)

II. AMOS

Amos is the earliest prophet from whom we have a full body of work. In his book, we can see how the covenant with the Lord was used to impose judgment upon the house of Israel.⁵ Amos' method was to recall for Israel a series of well-known incidents which the Israelites evidently used to demonstrate just how sinful their neighbors were. Damascus had "threshed Gilead" (Amos 1:3), and the Ammonites had ripped up pregnant women there. (Amos 1:13) For sins like these, God would punish the nations by sending fire upon

5. The prophecies of Amos were delivered in the Kingdom of Israel. Many particulars, and the general import also apply to Judah, so this discussion will take Israel as a whole.

their strongholds, and by sending them into exile. Doubtless the Israelites felt that this was the obvious punishment for such sins. Then Amos suddenly turns on Israel, and, just as he did with the others, he points out her sins: injustice to the poor and the righteous, sexual misbehavior, subversion of God's servants, etc. The covenant has been broken, and God's name has been profaned. For these sins, Amos proclaims that Israel will be conquered in battle. Neither the mighty warriors nor the cavalry can expect to save their lives, and the land is to be destroyed.

In Chapter 4, Amos points out a series of natural calamities which God has already sent upon Israel as preliminary punishments. Famine, drought, blight, disease, and a few cities overthrown are events which, while they did not destroy the nation, certainly limited and threatened its life. But Israel did not heed these preliminary punishments which God sent, and did not return to God. Therefore Israel must prepare to meet God, and to receive the full judgment of war which will destroy the nation's life.

The alternative which Amos proclaims is simple and direct: "Seek the Lord and live." (Amos 4:6) The message is not developed at length, for Amos gives almost no hope that the disaster can be avoided, and those who preserved his prophecies knew that the Kingdom of Israel had not returned to the Lord so that He could turn back the punishment. Because the Kingdom of Israel did not "seek God and live", the Kingdom died as a nation.

III. HOSEA

Hosea preached under the same circumstances as Amos, although several years closer to the fall of the Kingdom of Israel. His

book can be divided into three parts. The central portion, like the book of Amos, is a series of oracles. And in these oracles, the association of God's punishment with death, and his reward with life and fertility, is made more explicitly, and developed more extensively.

The pronouncements of the prophets themselves bring the death of this judgment. The love of Ephraim and Judah for God has evaporated like morning dew, and "Therefore I have hewn them by the prophets, I have slain them by the words of my mouth, and my judgment goes forth as the light." (6:5) The words of the Lord slay because the punishment which he commands is death. When the days of punishment come, the imagery is of death, and of a complete cutting-off of fertility:

Ephraim's glory shall fly away like a bird--
 no birth, no pregnancy, no conception!
 Even if they bring up children,
 I will bereave them till none is left.
 Woe to them
 when I depart from them!
 Ephraim's sons, as I have seen, are destined for a prey;
 Ephraim must lead forth his sons to slaughter.
 Give them, O Lord--
 what wilt thou give?
 Give them a miscarrying womb
 and dry breasts. (Hos 9:11-14)

Surrounding the chapters of oracles is a section, in two parts, which promises restoration after the punishment. In the final chapter, Israel returns and is restored in images of renewed fertility: "I will be as dew to Israel; he shall blossom as the lily, he shall strike root as the poplar." (Hos 14:5)

The most personal and crucial section of Hosea is the opening three chapters, in which God's relationship to Israel is discussed in terms of Hosea's marriage to an adulteress.

In Israel, the penalty for adultery is death. Lev 20:10 and Du 22:22 specify that the adulteress and her lover should be stoned. But where simple adultery is included in a list of sexual "abominations" which defile the land, in Lev 18:20, the punishment is that the guilty parties should be "cut off from among their people." (Lev 18:29)

Obviously in Hosea's case, his wife Gomer was not stoned. More likely, Hosea made the divorce pronouncement, "She is not my wife, and I am not her husband" (Hos 2:2), and sent her away. In theory, probably she should have been sent away into the wilderness, as Lev 18:29 seems to infer, and as Abraham did to Hagar. But actually Gomer was probably left to fend for herself, and Hosea was later able to buy her as a slave.

The second chapter of Hosea makes Israel's situation parallel to the case of Hosea. For her harlotry, Israel is made a wilderness. She thought she could go after her lovers, "who gave me my bread, and my water, my wool and my flax, my oil and my drink" (Hos 2:5), but she finds that it is God who gives, and can take back, "the grain, the wine, and the oil." (Hos 2:8) However, the Lord meets Israel in the wilderness, woos her, and wins her "in righteousness and in justice, in steadfast love, and in mercy" (Hos 2:19), and once more the earth brings forth "grain, wine and oil." The sentence for adultery is death; and it is inflicted by sending Israel out into the wilderness (or by turning her into one.) But then, in the area of death and desolation, through God's mercy Israel is able to find love and restored fertility. In Hosea as well, as in Amos, God's judgment and punishment bring death, His love and mercy give life.

IV. ISAIAH, CHAPTERS 1 THROUGH 39

In Isaiah, the judgment of God is even closer. By the end of his ministry, it had actually fallen upon the Kingdom of Israel. Most of Isaiah's envisioning of this judgment, therefore, is in direct and realistic terms, showing a land ravaged by war.

The Song of the Vineyard (Is 5:1-7) may be taken as typical of Isaiah's explanation of God's judgment. Israel's special relationship to the Lord is compared to a vineyard, an area of land that has been carefully cleared, walled, planted and tended. But the vineyard produced none of the fertility that would show a response to this work. Instead, it produced only wild grapes, the fruit that would have grown with no farming effort at all. The punishment is that all elements of special care are removed. The walls are broken down, and all aids to fertility, even the rain, are taken away. When this is applied to Judah, it means exile, famine and drought. (Is 5:13) Shēōl will open its mouth to swallow the leadership of the nation.

Throughout Isaiah, the dominant theme is the landscape, pillaged by war and devoid of any fertility. The prophet himself has seen the devastation of the Kingdom of Israel. He does not make his proclamation directly in terms of death, for he knows that a few will survive the national debacle. But he does show us pictures of a landscape that cannot support life.

The final section of the main body of Isaiah's oracles, Chapters 31-35, uses this as its theme. There is a landscape of ruin and sin. (Is 32:7-9) God rises, and in his presence, the breath of the sinners becomes a fire which will consume them

(Is 32:11), and the sinners ask who can survive in it. (Is 32:14) Edom receives the full judgment. Her streams are turned to pitch, her soil into brimstone. Only desert animals inhabit the land, and it is to be called "No Kingdom There." (Is 34)

In contrast to the despoiled wilderness in which no man lives, Isaiah gives a vision of fertility restored to the land. The righteous will be assured bread and water (Is 33:16), and "waters shall break forth in the wilderness, and streams in the desert. (Is 34:6) The imagery is of a land of fertility, where there is no sickness, and no threats to life, even from wild beasts.

Isaiah deals somewhat more with the individual under the judgment. The righteous are guaranteed salvation (Is 35:4), and at the end returns to Zion on a highway which sorts out and excludes the unclean. Isaiah's vision is of a land dispoiled under God's judgment, through natural disasters and warfare; and then of a land restored, fertile and well-watered for a new, completely redeemed Israel. There is little imagery about life itself, but much of a land in which life either cannot or can be sustained. The vision is still a national one, but the landscapes are seen with some realism, and begin to be inhabited by individuals.

V. JEREMIAH

Jeremiah and Ezekiel mark the important turning point of the prophetic tradition. Both prophets prophesied during the time when God's judgment upon Jerusalem was consummated in the fall of the city, and in the exile of the nation's leadership into Babylon.

In both prophets we see the punishment under God's judgment presented with the full realism of the contemporary situation. We also see the beginning of a prophetic handling of the problem of the individual. And both prophets deal with these problems in terms of life and death.

Jeremiah is the more dramatic prophet, for he lived in Jerusalem during the time when God's punishment was imposed. At a time when he himself was counseling Jews to accept exile, Jeremiah chose to remain with the Jews who were to undergo the full punishment for the nation's sins.

In Jeremiah's opening prophecy, he uses the language of the law-court. God contends that;

I brought you into a plentiful land
to enjoy its fruits and its good things.
But when you came in you defiled my land,
and made my heritage an abomination. (Jer 2:7)

The climactic accusation is one which uses the key word of "life", chaiyim, in the setting of fertility and infertility.

For my people have committed two evils:
they have forsaken me
the fountain of living waters
and hewed out cisterns for themselves,
broken cisterns
that can hold no water." (2-12-13)

The people have deserted the life of the "living" waters, which can provide a people fertility; and in a waterless land, broken cisterns mean death.

Jeremiah also uses the sexual imagery of an adulterous Israel. Israel is, in his introduction, a bride (Jer 2:2), then a camel in heat (Jer 2:23), and finally a harlot. (Jer 2:33), who commits adulteries, polluting the land so that "showers have been withheld,

and the spring rain has not come" (Jer 3:3), yet who wishes to return to her Lord without repenting.

But unless Israel repents, and repentance is offered as a specific possibility (Jer 4:1-4), a sentence of death will come upon the land. God "who speaks in judgment is upon them." (Jer 4:11) Images of war follow, and "a fruitful land was a desert." (Jer 4:26).

Throughout Jeremiah, the phrase for God's punishment repeated most often is the triplet of "sword, famine and pestilence." These are indeed a logical chain of events in a time of war, and are the consequences of war. They are also all events which produce deaths in great numbers, the ways in which whole nations can die. This punishment upon Judah is one which will be an impressive example to all other kingdoms. (Jer 29:18; 34:17) It becomes the cliché of death promised to all who will not surrender (Jer 21:8-9), who re-enslave their freed slaves (Jer 34:17), or who decide to go to Egypt to continue fighting. (Jer 42:17,22; 44:13)

In the midst of the book of Jeremiah, however, there is a beginning of a distinction between individuals. While the punishments of "sword, pestilence and famine" are ones which, by their nature, fall upon all the inhabitants of an area, both the guilty and the innocent, they are used at times to threaten men who commit individualistic sins, like refusing to surrender, or re-enslaving freedmen, or choosing to go to Egypt, as noted above. Most explicitly, when Jeremiah urges surrender he allows the individual to choose life or death for himself:

Behold, I set before you the way of life and the way of death. He who stays in this city shall die by the sword, by famine, and by pestilence. But he who goes out and surrenders to the Chaldeans who are besieging you shall live and shall have his life as a prize of war. (Jer 21:8-9)

Jeremiah does not seem to see a change from national to individualistic judgment coming fully in his own time; but he does clearly envision its coming. His faith in the Lord's justice is such that he sees the coming of a "new covenant which will be established when the judgment upon Israel for destroying the old covenant has been completed. Jeremiah sees that in his time it is true that the sons suffer for the sins of their fathers; this is what is happening to Jerusalem as Jeremiah prophesies, and Jeremiah, who is obedient to the Lord, who is a citadel which will not fall to temptation, suffers for the sins of Judah along with all of the others.

But in the future, Jeremiah prophesies, the Lord will re-establish the nation in such a way as to ensure that it will continue in its righteousness. The law will be written on the heart of every individual. (Jer 31:33) And if any individual does sin, he alone will suffer the consequences: "Every one will die for his own sin." (Jer 31:30)

Jeremiah saw God's judgment in terms of death for the nation of Israel; but he also saw a transition which would lead to judgment for the individual. The transition is still seen in national terms, however. Jeremiah seems to have seen in his own time a sorting-out process, during which the righteous men who would accept God's judgment, and who would be capable of having the "new covenant" written on their hearts, had the opportunity to accept

God's judgment, and save their lives, by accepting exile. The "new covenant" will be given to this new nation, established from the righteous remnant of the old. God's judgment on the nation of Israel means that those who choose to survive can hope for individual judgment.

VI. EZEKIEL

Ezekiel views the same events as Jeremiah, but from the more distant viewpoint of exile. This tends to make his writing more abstract. His imagery is more involved, more fully worked out, and more vivid, simply because the actual events were not before Ezekiel. His only contact with them was through the messengers who came to his place of exile. So for Ezekiel, far more of the reality of God's judgment is invested in the symbolic action, in the visions, in the meaning of what God is doing.

Ezekiel, for example, uses once more the symbol of Judah as the adulterous bride of the Lord. Yet here, in contrast to the earlier prophets, the death sentence is not seen in terms of the actual invasion that is coming. Instead, Ezekiel carries through with the image itself, and talks in dramatic terms of the execution of the adulteress, adding the irony that as the judgment upon her is carried out, her executioners are the very lovers with whom she committed her adultery. (Ezek 16:38-42; also Ezek 23:43-48)

Since Ezekiel is more caught up in the figurative language, he seems to be even more thorough about having the whole of Jerusalem put to death by the judgment of God that is coming upon it. In the early chapters, there are only a few notes which point to the survival of the righteous, and they may well have

been inserted. Chapter 18 does promise life to the righteous; yet it seems to be placed there to argue against the complete disaster on all Jerusalem which surrounds it, and May argues that it is a later addition.⁷ The inhabitants who "sigh and groan over all the abominations that are committed" in Jerusalem (Ezek 9:4) do have a mark placed on their foreheads; yet they are never mentioned again in the description of the city's destruction. The only ones who are allowed to escape, at the end of that passage, are a few who will give proof to the world of the sinfulness of all of Jerusalem's inhabitants. At one point, Ezekiel even promises that the Lord "will cut off from you both righteous and wicked." (Ezek 21:4) The death of the city will, it seems, be complete.

Yet perhaps because the symbols are so complete, Ezekiel was forced to deal with both the problem of how Israel was to be restored, and how God could be seen as just toward the righteous individual caught up in this disaster.

The problems are handled primarily in the final chapters of the book, Chapters 33 through 49; and many elements of the early chapters which are in accord with this section may be seen as a transfer, or an editing of the early chapters, to incorporate these ideas.⁸

The restoration of the nation is handled by Ezekiel's vision of the valley of bones in Chapter 37. This "resurrection" will be

7. May, Herbert G. "Ezekiel: Exegesis" The Interpreter's Bible (New York, 1952, Abingdon Press)
p. 49

8. Loc cit

discussed in the next chapter.⁹ The section ends with a vision of the new temple, and finally a miraculous stream that restores fertility wherever it flows, making fish live in the Dead Sea, and trees by its banks produce fruit every month. So the restoration of the nation is seen in terms of restored life.

The problem of God's judgment upon the individual is a more difficult one; but it is also discussed in terms of "life" and "death". When Ezekiel raises the problem in Chapter 33 (as well as a slightly more extensive version in Chapter 18) he gives a ringing affirmation of God's justice:

Yet your people say, "the way of the Lord is not just"; when it is their own way that is not just. When the righteous turns from his righteousness and commits iniquity, he shall die for it. And when the wicked turns from his wickedness, and does what is lawful and right, he shall live by it. Yet you say, the way of the Lord is not just." O house of Israel, I will judge each of you according to his ways. (Ezek 33:17-19)

The discussion of Ezekiel's role in Chapter 33, as in his original call in Chapter 3, carefully leads to a concept of individualistic judgment by God, a judgment that is also in terms of "life" and "death". The wicked, throughout, "shall surely die," and the righteous "shall surely live," The only question is the role of Ezekiel, who is to be the watchman for the house of Israel. If Ezekiel does not prophesy to the wicked man of the Lord's judgment, then the wicked man shall die, but his blood will be on Ezekiel's head. Ezekiel's words may not be able to save the wicked, but by warning the wicked, Ezekiel will save his own life.

9. See p. 52

There is no evidence to suggest that Ezekiel had gone so far as to believe that a new age had actually arrived in which righteous men were never to die at all. So it would seem that the language being used means that the wicked will die before their time, while the righteous will live their lives out fully; or we may well be arriving at a more spiritual understanding of "life" and "death", in the sense of living with God, and living apart from him.

So we are left with the problem. Now that the final judgment has fallen upon Jerusalem, and a new Israel is to be raised from the scattered exiles, Ezekiel affirms that God's judgment is to be made on the basis of the individual's merits; and that the righteous individual can be assured that he will live. Yet we can be certain that, in the literal sense, this was not true. Ezekiel's rather abstract understanding of God had led him to make promises that required something other than a literal understanding.

VII. SECOND ISAIAH

The return from the exile marks the beginning of a separation of the concept of life and judgment from a close, literal attachment to a nationalistic fertility ideal. Jeremiah and Ezekiel had opened the path for individualistic judgment. This obviously meant that nation-wide judgments such as plague, famine and sword would no longer be the Lord's chief mode of operation.

Second Isaiah accurately, though subtly, reflects this important change. There is a good deal of fertility imagery throughout the book; and the climactic passage, especially Chapter 65, is in this vein. Here we have, perhaps, a confirmation of what it means

that the righteous men in Ezekiel "shall surely live." While there is no "eternal" life, the normal life of all members of the righteous community, and their fertility, has been fantastically expanded, and accidents which might cut a righteous man off before their time have been eliminated.

This view of the golden fertile future is reflected throughout Second Isaiah; but the writers who were updating the original prophet shifted the primary imagery from simple fertility to a more political view. God's control over all of the world and nature is asserted, but the restoration after the punishment of His judgment has been inflicted is to gather Israel again to the holy city, and to envision all of the other nations coming to Jerusalem to offer tribute. An individualistic servant called by the Lord is to be "a light to the nations, that my salvation may reach to the end of the earth." (Is 49:6)

The connection with simple fertility and untroubled prosperity is not dropped as a reward of God's judgment to the righteous. But Second Isaiah gives us a growing emphasis on Israel's being the political and religious capital of the world. There is a growing concept that the reward of righteousness is to be recognized and honored as a righteous servant of the Lord.

VIII. WISDOM LITERATURE

But the holy city envisioned in Second Isaiah was not quite so triumphantly re-established, in literal terms. Israel gained some measure of independence, especially in regaining the privilege of maintaining the Lord's cult in its most sacred location. But

there was no great turning of the nations to Jerusalem for leadership. The recognition did not come.

The post-exilic period seems to have emphasized wisdom literature. If God was not to triumph in the mere carrying-out of the cult, He must be found in other ways, and by the individual. The nation was not suffering greatly, as a nation; nor was it triumphing as a nation. It was merely left to lead its own life. And so God's real action and judgment could not be over the nation; it must be over the individual, as Ezekiel and Jeremiah foresaw. And for these reasons, the individual wise men began to weigh the problems of how and why men should live.

Under the old standards, the righteous man should be rewarded by a long and happy life. But, as in our modern world, this did not always happen. Ecclesiastes is a meditation which makes this point at length, summing it up at one point by saying:

There are righteous men to whom it happens according to the deeds of the wicked, and there are wicked men to whom it happens according to the deeds of the righteous. I said that this also is vanity. (Eccles 8:14)

Job is the best example of the struggle with this problem, for Job asks about it most deeply and searchingly. In the midst of an old fable, in which an outstandingly righteous man managed to avoid offending the Lord, and thus, while seeming to endure punishments, was actually led on to greater rewards, later writers inserted a long dialogue about the question of why Job, as the archetype of the righteous man, should be required to suffer.

If the arguments of Job's friends are not actually well-known poems inserted into the dialogue for the irony which the setting

gives them, they are at least recognizable caricatures of what men were saying at the time. And in the speeches of Job's friends we can see that the concept of the Lord rewarding directly with life and prosperity was still extremely active.

Think now, who that was innocent ever perished?
Or where were the upright cut off?
As I have seen, those who plow iniquity
and sow trouble reap the same. (Job 4:7-9)

He will deliver you from six troubles;
in seven there shall no evil touch you.
/Famine, sword, scourge of the tongue, destruction, and
beasts are listed./
You shall know also that your descendants shall be many...
You shall come to your grave in ripe old age. (Job 5:19, 25, 26)

Over and over, Job's friends torment him by equating misfortune with God's judgment on the wicked, and prosperity with God's reward to the righteous, thus inferring that Job must be accounted wicked.

Job protests by taking the remarkable step of cursing his very life itself. He curses the day in which he was born, even the day in which he was conceived. He protests his innocence, and desperately demands that he be allowed to place his case before God.

The solution of the book is that God does answer Job, showing Job that He is too great to be questioned. Job realizes that his sin was the thought that he had the right to question God. As Elihu had told him:

Behold, in this you are not right.
I will answer you.
God is greater than man.
Why do you contend against him,
saying "He will answer none of my words"? (Job 33:12-13)

Job bows before the mystery of God, despises himself, and repents. And then, conventionally, the story ends with Job receiving the reward of prosperity, long life and posterity that is his due as

a righteous man. Yet his question remains unanswered. Righteous men do suffer in this life. Why? We have not the right to question God; yet if we believe that His purpose is justice, then we cannot help questioning Him as Job did.

IX. ECCLESIASTICUS

Ecclesiasticus makes no special strides forward in the matter of life and judgment. It does not ask questions nearly as deep as those raised in Job; indeed, as we shall see, it gives conventional and somewhat shallow answers to them. But the book of the wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach can be of special help to us because it can be accurately dated within a decade or so of 180 B.C.¹⁰ and thus gives us a picture of Jewish thought a generation before the book of Daniel.

For Jesus ben Sirach, there is still no concept of life after death:

Who will sing praises to the Most High in Hades,
as do those who are alive and give thanks?
From the dead, as from one who does not exist, thanks-
giving has ceased;
he who is alive and well sings the Lord's praises.
(Ecclus 17:27-28)

Escape from death is still seen in one's posterity, and in one's reputation. This is the reward which the great men of Israel

10. Ecclesiasticus must have been written after the death, in 200 B.C., of Simon the high priest, son of Onias (who is praised as one whose career has been completed), and before the Maccabean revolution, which began in 170 B.C., and whose violent events are not reflected in the book. See Burkill, T.A., "Ecclesiasticus" Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, II, p. 14.

have won:

Their posterity will continue forever,
and their glory will not be blotted out.
Their bodies were buried in peace,
and their name lives to all generations. (Ecclus 44:13-14)

This is also the hope which ben Sirach offers the ordinary man:

The father may die, and yet he is not dead,
for he has left behind him one like himself. (Ecclus 30:4)

The days of a good life are numbered,
but a good name endures forever. (Ecclus 40:13)

Ben Sirach uses the terminology of the choice between righteousness and wickedness being the choice between life and death:

If you will, you can keep the commandments,
and to act faithfully is a matter of your own choice....
Before a man are life and death,
and whichever he chooses will be given him. (Ecclus 15:15-17)

Whoever loves Wisdom loves life. (Ecclus 4:12)

Because he is sophisticated enough to understand the paradox, perhaps because he has been in contact with Greek thought, ben Sirach states clearly that "life" is something more than merely being alive; and that there is a death worse than mere physical death:

My son, do not lead the life of a beggar;
it is better to die than to beg.
When a man looks to the table of another
his existence cannot be considered as life. (Ecclus 40:28-29)

Slander's death is an evil death,
and Hades is preferable to it. (Ecclus 28:21)

Ben Sirach is clear that men will be judged on an individualistic basis; and unlike Job, he has no doubts about it:

As great as his mercy, so great is also his reproof;
he judges a man according to his deeds.
The sinner will not escape with his plunder,
and the patience of the godly will not be frustrated.
He will make room for every act of mercy;
every one will receive in accordance with his deeds.
(Ecclus 16:12-14)

But ben Sirach is obliged to deal with the questions raised in Job. The wicked often do appear to succeed. As we have seen above, ben Sirach had not accepted any sort of life after death; but his faith that God will indeed judge men justly by their deeds forces him, often, to locate retribution and reward at the time of death:

Do not envy the honors of a sinner,
for you do not know what his end will be.
Do not delight in what pleases the ungodly;
remember that they will not be held guiltless as long
as they live. (Ecclus 9:11-12)

In all you do, remember the end of your life,
and then you will never sin. (Ecclus 7:36)

For it is easy in the sight of the Lord
to reward a man on the day of death according
to his conduct.

The misery of an hour makes one forget luxury,
and at the close of a man's life his deeds
will be revealed. (Ecclus 11:26)

God's judgment for the individual has somehow been pushed up to the hour of his death, if up to then he has not been appropriately rewarded or punished. But, because ben Sirach had no concept of a life after death, the judgment could not be pushed over that line. Yet is this a satisfactory solution? In the deaths we ourselves have observed, is there anything that distinguishes the good man's death from the evil man's? Is there anything that punishes an evil life, or rewards a good one? Or does the question of Job still require an answer?

Why do the wicked live,
reach old age, and grow mighty in power?
Their children are established in their presence,
their offspring before their eyes....
They spend their days in prosperity
and in peace they go down to Sheol. (Job 21:7-8, 13)

X. CONCLUSION

In the material surveyed in this chapter, there have been two constants. First, throughout the writings of Israel there is a firm and unswerving faith that God will always judge justly, that He will reward the righteous and punish the wicked. While prophets and wise men may find that they cannot understand, or while they may have trouble finding a way to explain that God is just, still the faith in His justice remains.

Secondly, throughout the writings of Israel there is a constant association between judgment and life. The reward for righteousness is always in some way associated with life, and the punishment for evil is always associated in some way with death.

The progression, in this survey, has been one from God's judgment being applied to an entire nation or group to one of the judgment being made for each individual on the basis of his own personal righteousness or wickedness. The point of transition comes most sharply with the fall of Jerusalem in the 6th century B.C., for after that time the nation of Israel was never again satisfactorily re-established so that it seemed fully alive, as it had in the time of Joshua or David. And so, around this turning point in history comes the change which emphasizes the judgment of the individual.

The prophets who prophesied before the fall of Jerusalem could say with justice that the nation had sinned, and deserved the punishment of God's judgment. But when God's judgment was supposed to be made for each individual alone, men could easily see that His judgment did not always come as it should. Often it was the wicked

men who prospered, who enjoyed a full and comfortable life, while at the same time righteous men often lived with the restrictions of poverty, or died before living out their lives to old age. Some solution was needed, if Israel was to retain both the constant of God's justice and the constant of life being the reward of righteousness.

Jesus ben Sirach did the best he could in Ecclesiasticus, by bringing reward and retribution to the hour of death. But it is easy to see that this was not a fully satisfactory answer. Something more was needed. And since there was no life in the grave, after death, the only answer was to restore the unrewarded righteous man to life once more. Resurrection was the answer Israel needed.

In the material surveyed by this chapter there are a number of passages which might seem to be resurrections, or which do in fact describe a resurrection, yet which may be only symbolic. These passages will be examined in the following chapter. But in the book of Daniel, written just a generation after Ecclesiasticus, a clear and unequivocal resurrection appears. This answer to Israel's need will be examined in Chapter V.

CHAPTER IV

OLD TESTAMENT PASSAGES WHICH APPEAR TO INDICATE RESURRECTION

Throughout the Old Testament there are a number of passages which have been read traditionally as a demonstration of the concept of resurrection from the dead. It is natural, of course, that they should have been interpreted in this manner after both Judaism and Christianity had accepted doctrines of resurrection, and when Jews and Christians were reading the OT with the natural, but uncritical, assumption that a doctrine should apply uniformly throughout.

In this chapter I will examine the major passages which have been interpreted as indicating an OT doctrine of resurrection. I will concentrate on presenting the evidence that it is not correct, or else not necessary, to interpret the passages as indicating resurrection. The following chapter will discuss what T.H. Gaster calls "the only positive reference" to the doctrine of resurrection in the OT,¹ and the reasons why there was, at this point, a watershed which led to a clear and unequivocal statement of resurrection.

I. HOSEA

A. HOSEA 6:2

After two days he will revive us;
on the third day he will raise us up,
that we may live before him. (Hos 6:3)

As translated by the RSV, this passage would indeed seem open to interpretation as a resurrection; and it is, of course, one of

1. T.H. Gaster, "Resurrection", The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible (IV) p.39

the famous passages which seems to predict the resurrection of Christ on the third day.

Even in English, however, the verb "revive" is ambiguous. The Latin root does mean to "live again"; but it is commonly used in English for recovery from a state well this side of death. A person who has fainted "revives", and a plant which has wilted in a drought "revives" when watered. This indeed seems to be the meaning of the Hebrew in this passage.

The verb used in Hebrew for "revive" is the piel of chayah; and an examination of other uses of chayah in the piel indicates clearly that the usage indicates nothing more than the preservation of life. When the midwives "let live" the sons of the Hebrew women in the first chapter of Exodus (Ex 1:17-18), the verb is chayah in the piel. When commands are given that no person of an enemy of the Israelites is to be allowed to survive, (Du 20:16 and 1 Sam 27:11, for example) the same form is used with the negative. The great majority of examples clearly indicate preservation of life already existing; and none indicates the restoration of life to a dead man.

In the one clear example of a restoration from the dead, Elisha's restoration of the widow's son, Elisha "caused him to live". The verb is chayah in the hiphil. We might well expect this verb form to express resurrection; yet in almost all other cases, the hiphil of chayah still indicates preservation of life. Noah "causes to live" the animals which he takes on his ark. (Gen 6:19-20,P) Joshua, telling how, as a reward for his righteousness, he was allowed to survive from the older generation during the 40 years Israel spent in the wilderness, says that the Lord "caused me to

live." (Josh 14:10) Similarly, when he commands that the Gibeonites be spared, they are "caused to live." (Josh 9:20) Thus only in extraordinary and specific circumstances can the piel or hiphil of chayah be translated to mean anything other than the preservation of life.

This verse of Hosea also becomes much further removed from a statement of resurrection when viewed in its context. In this passage, the Lord is condemning the shallowness of the love which Ephraim and Judah hold for Him. The Lord, like a lion, has wounded them; they seek healing, and say to themselves:

Come, let us return to the Lord;
 for he has torn, that he may heal us;
 he has stricken, and he will bind us up.
 After two days he will revive us;
 on the third day he will raise us up,
 that we may live before him.
 Let us know, let us press on to know the Lord;
 His going forth is sure as the dawn;
 he will come to us as the showers,
 as the spring rains that water the earth. (Hos 6:1-3)

But this return, obviously, is not sincere or permanent, for the Lord must say;

What shall I do with you, O Ephraim?
 What shall I do with you O Judah?
 Your love is like a morning cloud,
 like the dew that goes early away. (Hos 6:4)

Thus the passage could not be an assurance of resurrection. Instead, it is an affirmation of the belief that a return to the Lord, and a good relationship with Him, "pays off", allowing the nation or individual to continue living a healthy and prosperous life. It does affirm the idea of life coming from a good relationship with God; but the passage makes no strides into extending that life beyond death.

B. HOSEA 13:14

Shall I ransom them from the power of Sheol?
 Shall I redeem them from Death?
 O Death, I will be your plagues.
 O Sheol, I will be your destruction
 Compassion is hid from my eyes. (Hos 13:14)²

As John Mauchline says in his exegesis, "The key to the interpretation of this verse must be found in its last phrase: 'Compassion is hid from eyes.'³ The judgment is about to fall upon Samaria. The spirit is about to dry up the land of Ephraim, and "they shall fall by the sword, their little ones shall be dashed in pieces, and their pregnant women ripped open." (Hos 13:16) While most translators and interpreters (including the LXX and the RSV) accept the conventional emendation of 'hy ["I will be", apocapated] to 'yh ("where?"), the Hebrew reading seems acceptable. For, as in the next verse where the spirit (or wind) of the Lord will do the work of His judgment, in this verse the Lord may easily be taken as saying that He Himself will bring the judgment upon Ephraim. Death and Sheol would claim their victims eventually; but now, in His wrathful judgment, the Lord will do their work for them.

The verse is confused, and capable of bearing many interpretations. Even read, "Oh death, where are your plagues?" it can be interpreted either as a word of triumph over death, or it can

2. References followed by an "n" indicate that the translation of the RSV's footnotes has been used.

3. Mauchline, John "Hoses: Exegesis" The Interpreter's Bible VI, p. 714

be interpreted as a command to death to bring its plagues, as a surgeon might say "Nurse, where is your scapel?" In context, the verse preaches no redemption from Sheol and Death, but instead indicates that they are indeed the threat of the Lord's judgment over Israel that death is the punishment for the sins of Ephraim.

II. EZEKIEL

"Prophecy to these bones, and say to them, O dry bones, hear the word of the Lord. Thus says the Lord God to these bones: Behold, I will cause breath to enter you, and you shall live.".....So I prophesied as he commanded me, and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood upon their feet, an exceedingly great host. (Ezek 37:4-5,10)

In the 37th chapter of Ezekiel there is a dramatic and explicit description of a resurrection. A valley is filled with the bones of slain men, completely dry. The Lord commands Ezekiel to prophesy, and as he does so, the bones are joined, sinews and flesh appear upon them, the spirit comes and enters them, and they stand, a living army.

The only question about this passage is whether it is to be taken as a fact, or merely as a symbolic vision. We do have, in Ezekiel, episodes which are miraculous visions, yet which should evidently be interpreted as actual fact, as when Ezekiel is transported to Jerusalem to see the death of Peltiah (Chapter 11). But the book is also filled with signs which the prophet acts out for his fellow exiles to see.

In this case, the context indicates that the vision should be read as symbolic. The key is in the Lord's explanation to Ezekiel after the vision. The children of Israel, the Lord explains, have been saying, "Our bones are dried up, and our hope is lost: we

are clean cut off."⁴ (Ezek 37:11) This plaint is clearly an image, not reality.

The Lord's spoken reply to this plaint, given in terms of its imagery, is: "I will open your graves, and raise you from your graves, O my people. And I will put my Spirit within you, and you shall live, and I will place you in your own land." (Ezek 37:12-13) This means a return from the exile, and a reaffirmation of the promise in the preceding chapter, "A new heart I will give you, and a new spirit I will put within you; and I will take out of your flesh the heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh." (Ezek 36:26) All this can be clearly seen as imagery.

The vision of the valley of bones, therefore, becomes a dramatization of this imagery. Israel complains that "our bones are dried up," and Ezekiel sees the bones restored from this state. The next incident in the book makes the symbolic value even clearer. A broken stick, symbolizing the house of Israel divided into Ephraim and Judah is miraculously rejoined. Clearly this is a symbolic demonstration of the fact that Judah and Ephraim are no longer to be two kingdoms, but one. The host in the valley of bones should also be read in this manner, for after they have risen and been given life, and have demonstrated their point, the members of the host, like the joined stick, are discarded and forgotten.

Yet we have here a clear and precise envisionment of the idea of resurrection. If the idea was to become a doctrine for pious believers, this scene would then be accepted as true, and as the manner of resurrection. Even if only the dried bones are left of

4. Gazar. See p. 59

a man, the scene tells us, God can resurrect him and return him to life. The form of resurrection is set forth here, in a symbolic vision, awaiting only for doctrinal belief in the idea to give it life.

III. ISAIAH

Aside from Daniel, Isaiah gives us the passages which most nearly propound the idea of resurrection. Two of the passages are found in Isaiah Chapters 24-27, which most scholars agree were added in late post-exilic times.⁵ The third is in one of the servant songs, which is also counted as post-exilic.

A. ISAIAH 25:8

And he will annihilate in this mountain
 The veil that veils all the peoples,
 And the web that is woven over all nations;
 He has annihilated death for ever;
 And the Lord Yahweh will wipe away tears from all faces,
 and remove his people's reproach from all the earth:
 For 'tis Yahweh hath spoken. (Is 25:7-8)⁶

In the midst of the passage celebrating a triumphant feast on Mount Zion there appears the phrase: "He will swallow up death forever. (Is 25:8) These three words do, indeed, bring an end to death, and introduce eternal life. It seems likely, however, that

5. "The ideas that find expression here point to the post-exilic period; and with probability, indeed, to a very late part of that period." George Buchanan Gray, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Isaiah (International Critical Commentary, Edinburgh, 1912, International Critical Commentary) p. 399. "The general opinion is that the chapters are some of the latest in the OT." C.R. North "Isaiah" The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, III, p. 737.

6. Gray, G.B. op cit. p. 407

this phrase was added even later than the late passage itself. The sense of the words is an interruption in the imagery of the Lord lifting away the veil of mourning, and wiping away the tears which would lie under it. The phrase also seems to interrupt the poetic structure of the passage, although this is less clear. Robert Martin-Achard suggests that the words were a gloss upon the text, which was then incorporated into it.⁷ It would certainly make sense to have a commentator write down his explanation that the veil the Lord is destroying is death.

The passage shows the Lord removing the troubles and sorrows of the people; and a later commentator saw that in the depth of this passage, it was death that the Lord was destroying. In a late passage, a later editor sees the same meaning of the Lord's actions that is presented in Daniel, to be discussed in the next chapter.

B. ISAIAH 26:19

O Lord our God,
 other lords besides thee have ruled over us,
 but thy name alone we acknowledge.
 They are dead, they will not live
 they are shades, they will not arise;
 to that end thou hast visited them with destruction
 and wiped out all remembrance of them....
 Thy dead shall live, my body shall rise
 O dwellers in the dust, awake and sing for joy!
 For thy dew is a dew of light,
 and on the land of the shades thou wilt let it fall.
 (Is 26:13-14, 19n)

Von Rad accepts this passage, along with Daniel 12:2-3, as giving a statement of resurrection.⁸ Yet it seems extraordinary that such an extreme and new idea should be mentioned so casually

7. Martin-Achard, Robert From Death to Life (Edinburgh, 1960, Oliver and Boyd) p. 128

8. Von Rad, Gerhard Old Testament Theology (Edinburgh, 1965, Oliver and Boyd, Ltd.) Vol. II, p. 350

when it is introduced to Israel for the first time in a prophetic book. Isaiah develops other visions of his golden age under God's merciful judgment at greater length, and with more detail.

Ezekiel's resurrection is far more specific, even if symbolic, and Daniel, as we shall see, is more carefully climactic about his resurrection. The problem is that here a new concept seems to be introduced in a verse whose language may be figurative.

It would seem that Isaiah is dealing with our problem of the righteous men who have suffered, and that he has here reached a conclusion by having, as a part of God's final judgment, a resurrection back to life of all the righteous who suffered and slain in the various times of trouble in Israel. This is certainly what the final lines of the whole passage point to: "And the earth will disclose the blood shed upon her, and will no more cover her slain." (Is 26:21)

But while it is appropriate to link this last verse with the resurrection verse above, it is not necessary. For the verse deals with vengeance; and, as in the case of Cain and Abel, the blood that is on the earth cries out, not for resurrection, but for vengeance. Thus this last verse may be easily, and more conventionally read as a disclosure by the earth of all the iniquities which require the vengeance of God's judgment.

We should also note that the resurrection passage has a proleptic quality to it. Verse 20 makes it clear that the judgment has not yet taken place, and that the righteous must seek shelter and wait. Yet verses 14 and 15 use the perfect tense, speaking of God's judgment as having been completed. Thus those who, under

the completed judgment are dead, would be, in fact, still alive. Only proleptically are they dead shades.

The crucial verse 19 is obviously in contrasting parallel with verse 14; and if we allow it the same proleptic quality, it could mean that here too the dead are not actually dead, but are the righteous against whom the "dead" of verse 14 sinned. And these righteous, while so weak as to seem dead in the present, will be the ones to live fully, in the future, after the judgment of God has come.

Most translations, with the LXX, emend "my body" to "their bodies," in verse 19. But if we take the dead who shall live as a figure of speech, designating the community of the prophet, the people whom he is in fact addressing, the expression "my body" follows naturally. The only anomaly is that it is not "our bodies", but even this is not surprising, for the prophet is, one man addressing God.

This interpretation makes the passage a personal affirmation. The prophet makes a strong statement of the present feeling of death in the oppressed, powerless community; and he goes on to show the meaning of living fully again, when God brings his merciful, life-giving judgment. The figure he uses, in this interpretation, is a vivid, emotional resurrection.

This interpretation is questionable; but the important fact is that we are not obliged to interpret the passage as, in fact, a prophecy of resurrection. It does, however, come very close, and we can see in it how, if it is not actually resurrection, Israel is ready and waiting for the doctrine.

C. ISAIAH 53:8-12

By oppression and judgment he was taken away;
 and as for his generation, who considered
 that he was cut off out of the land of the living,
 stricken for the transgression of my people?
 And they made his grave with the wicked
 and with a rich man in his death,
 although he had done no violence,
 and there was no deceit in his mouth.
 Yet it was the will of the Lord to bruise him;
 he has made him sick;
 when thou makest his soul an offering for sin,
 he shall see his offspring, he shall prolong his days;
 the will of the Lord shall prosper in his hand;
 he shall see the fruit of the travail of his soul and
 be satisfied;....

Therefore I will divide him a portion with the great,
 and he shall divide the spoil with the strong;
 because he poured out his soul to death,
 and was numbered with the transgressors. (Is 53:8-12n)

We identify Isaiah's suffering servant with Jesus Christ, and so this passage is easily seen as applying to His life and death. Jesus was indeed "numbered with the transgressors," he was sentenced, executed, died and buried. Yet in His resurrection He rose "to see the fruit of the travail of his soul," He saw His spiritual offspring, and His days were prolonged. So if we read this passage as a prophecy of Christ, we will indeed see in it a resurrection.

But the question is, did the servant in this passage actually die? If he did indeed die, then the verses which speak of prolonged days, of seeing his offspring and the fruit of his travail must be understood as in a resurrected state. Two sections of the passage seem to indicate that the servant did die: verses 8-9, and verse 12.

In verse 12, the Hebrew verb translated as "pour out" is arah, "to uncover; to destroy, demolish; to pour out, to empty."⁸

8. Feyerband, Karl, Langenscheidt's Pocket Hebrew Dictionary (New York, Barnes & Noble, 1961)
 p. 259

It can indeed mean "to pour out," as when Rachel pours out her jar into the trough to water the camels of Abraham's servant. (Gen 24:20) But "to uncover" or "to bare" is by far the most common meaning. Here arah is in the hiphil, and in the two similar OT usages, the verb clearly means "to uncover". In the first, also in Isaiah, when the Lord will shame the wanton daughters of Zion, he will "lay bare (arah) their secret parts." (Is 3:17) In the other hiphil usage, the incest regulations of Leviticus use arah for "uncovering the nakedness" of relatives. (Lev 20:19) In other forms as well, arah almost always means "to uncover."

This means that the more likely translation is that the servant "uncovered" or "bared" his soul to death, rather than actually surrendering it, as the translation "poured out" infers. The revised translation would mean that what happened was not that the servant died, but that he risked death.

Does verse 8, however, oblige us to understand that the servant actually dies? "He was cut off out of the land of the living." We certainly do not seem obliged to read it this way. In the RSV translation, this is included in a question: "Who considered that he was cut off...?" It is appropriate to read the passage as an indication that others of his generation had "written him off", and had even gone so far as to assign him a grave in which he was to be buried.

Secondly, the verb used for "cut off" from the land of the living, the niphal of gazar, need not actually imply death; it could also mean exile. The noun, gezerah, used in the Aramaic section of Daniel,

refers to an exile. The RSV translates the word "decree" in its two usages, but it is a decree which cuts Nubachadnezzar off from normal society for the "seven times" that he is to spend insane in the wilderness. (Dan 4:14, 17) Gazar is also used of the "exclusion" of King Uzziah from the house of the Lord, in his leprousy. (2 Chron 26:21) In a parallel passage in Jeremiah, in which the prophets wish to "cut him off from the land of the living," and in which his death is clearly intended, the verb is karath, the verb more commonly used for "to cut off".

It should also be noted that when the servant is "stricken" for the transgression of the people (Is 53:8), the Hebrew, nega lamo, could be translated more literally, "there was a plague to him." Thus we again have an indication that the suffering servant, like Uzziah, was separated, or quarantined, that he was counted as dead. Yet it is not necessary to conclude that he did die.

IV. JOB

For I know that my Vindicator lives
and at last he will stand upon the dust;
and after my skin has been thus destroyed,
then without my flesh I shall see God,
whom I shall see on my side,
and my eyes shall behold, and not another.
My heart faints within me! (Job 19:25-27n)

When we read this passage devotionally, as Christians, we know that the Vindicator is Christ, and that we can expect to see Him at His second coming, when we shall all be resurrected. Thus a Christian devotional reading of this passage assumes that it is indeed a resurrection.

But in context, an interpretation which understands this as a resurrection is at variance with the rest of the book. Job is

troubled, not because he is suffering, but because his friends interpret his suffering as a punishment sent by God for Job's wickedness. Job's need is for a vindication of his innocence; if he believed in a resurrection, and was stating it here, his problem would be solved. Instead he needs, and calls for a vindication in this life; and the eventual solution of the book is that God does answer Job, and finally does reward him for his righteousness by restoring everything to him twice over.

In this passage, Job is reacting to the statements of his friends that he must be receiving a just punishment from God, and that therefore he must be one of the wicked. Job's excited plaint there is that they "magnify themselves" against him. After wishing that his statement of innocence could be permanently inscribed, so as to remain as testimony for him forever, Job imagines a vindicator who will plead his case for him against God. And this vindicator seems to become God, whom Job expects to see on his side.

In effect, Job is appealing from God to God. "God," Job says, "has put me in the wrong.... I call aloud, but there is no justice." (Job 19:6-7) But only God Himself can restore justice, so in Job's prediction of what will happen at last, it is God whom Job will see on his side.

If Job does die, it is verse 26 that records his death. This is a notoriously difficult verse, about which the RSV is obliged to comment in a footnote: "The meaning of this verse is uncertain."⁹

9. RSV, Job 19:26, footnote x.

Driver and Gray refuse to attempt any translation of the first half,¹⁰ while Pope renders it "Even after my skin is flayed."¹¹ All three translations agree that the second half of the verse is in some sense "without" or "away from" the flesh. Job is losing his flesh; but does this necessarily mean death? Normally it would; but if the statement is made in hyperbole, it need not. Job has already introduced the theme of his melting flesh: "Why do you, like God, pursue me? Why are you not satisfied with my flesh?" (Job 19:22) Thus we can understand the passage as stating that even if his sickness continues, and rots away his flesh, still his faith in God's justice brings him to demand, and expect, a judgment from God. And in the end of the book, Job is, indeed, allowed to hear God, and finally to be vindicated.

This passage need not be understood as a resurrection. Yet it does come very close to the extreme point of death, where all flesh has gone, still expecting to see God vindicate His justice. Once more, we come to the very borderline of resurrection.

V. OTHER RESURRECTIONS AND ESCAPES FROM DEATH

A. THE TRANSLATIONS OF ENOCH AND ELIJAH

Thus all the days of Enoch were three hundred and sixty-five years. Enoch walked with God; and he was not, for God took him. (Gen 5:23-24)

10. Driver, Samuel Rolles, and George Buchanan Gray
A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the
 Book of Job (Edinburgh, 1921, International
 Critical Commentary.) p. 174

11. Pope, Marvin H. Job (Garden City, N.Y., 1965,
 Doubleday & Co.) p. 129

Now when the Lord was about to take Elijah up to heaven by a whirlwind, Elijah and Elisha were on their way from Gilgal....And as they still went on and talked, behold a chariot of fire and horses of fire separated the two of them. And Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven. And Elisha saw it and cried, "My father, my father! the chariots of Israel and its horsemen!" And he saw him no more. (2 Sam 2:1, 11-12)

Two men in the Old Testament, Enoch and Elijah, do not die, but are taken up into some sort of direct relationship with the Lord. This is a difficult and mysterious problem. In part, it may be explained by myths absorbed from other cultures. Enoch is the seventh patriarch in the line from Adam, and "all his days" were three hundred and sixty-five years, precisely the number of days in a year. It is evident that there is some legendary material about the earliest fathers that makes Enoch's role special.

Likewise, the story of Elijah's translation is actually part of the later, more legendary Elisha cycle, and according to Montgomery, the element of the chariot and horses of fire "links up....with the myth of the horses of the sun and ancient widespread sun-myths."¹²

However, in both of these cases we are given a special case of escape from death. The retention of these two stories in their present form indicates that the Israelites were not dogmatic about their concept of existence after death. It also indicates that there is indeed something wrong about the separation from God that death brings, because He allows especially great men to escape it.

12. Montgomery, James A. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Kings (Edinburgh, 1951, International Critical Commentary) p. 353.

The very fact of this escape affirms the separation from God that death brings.

Enoch and Elijah are spared death's separation; but such a solution must remain extremely exceptional. The vast majority of righteous men must still expect to die. These two translations emphasize the problem instead of propounding a solution.

B. THE PSALMS

Several passages in the psalms are often interpreted by devout readers as references to resurrection. But, with one exception, it is far easier to interpret these "resurrection" passages in terms of Israel's cultic practices, or in terms of the psalmist's rescue from the threat of death.

1. Psalm 16:10-11

For thou dost not give me up to Sheol,
or let thy godly one see the Pit.
Thou dost show me the path of life;
in thy presence there is fulness of joy,
in thy right hand are pleasures for evermore.

In this psalm, the psalmist asks God to preserve him, affirming that he takes refuge in the Lord, and keeps the Lord always before him. The simplest interpretation of the final lines is that the psalmist is thanking God because God did not allow him to die, but preserved him in this life.

2. Psalm 17:15

As for me, I shall behold thy face in righteousness;
when I awake, I shall be satisfied with beholding thy form.

The psalmist, who has been pleading his innocence, and requesting the Lord's protection from wicked men, ends his plea with this expression of confidence. There is no reason why it should not be hyperbolic language for acceptance by God in this life. In

particular, it could well refer to some sort of overnight vigil in the temple.

3. Psalm 73:24n

Thou doest guide me with they counsel,
and afterward thou wilt receive me to honor.

This again could be interpreted as a restoration to a good relationship with God in this life.

4. Psalm 49:15

But God will ransom my soul from the power of Sheol,
for he will receive me.

This is the one verse in the psalms which, in a straightforward reading, encourages an interpretation that the psalmist is to be delivered from death. The psalm calls "all inhabitants of the world" to listen to its wisdom, and it discusses how all men, no matter how rich or powerful, will die and fall into the power of death. In this one line the psalmist notes that he himself expects to be spared.

This verse provokes a variety of responses among critics. Briggs simply labels it an inserted gloss by a late editor "wishing to make the psalm more useful for public worship."¹³ Martin-Achard and Weiser both refuse to make any definite interpretation. Both note the possibility of some concept of dwelling with God, instead of being in Sheol with the foolish rich men who put their trust in wealth; but both agree that it is not possible for us to know whether the psalmist intended this literally or figuratively.¹⁴

13. Briggs, Charles Augustus A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms (Edinburgh, 1906, International Critical Commentary) Vol. I, p. 411.

14. Martin-Achard op cit, p. 153 ff. Weiser, Artur The Psalms: A Commentary (Philadelphia, 1962, The Westminster Press) p. 390.

C. DEUTERONOMY 32:39

See now that I, even I, am he
 and there is no god beside me;
 I kill and I make alive;
 I wound and I heal;
 and there is none that can deliver out of my hand.

Orthodox Jews, who wish to find the doctrine of resurrection stated in the Torah, point to this verse. But, as pointed out above,¹⁴ the piel of chayah, here translated "I make alive" is most often used for the preservation of life. While this verse does assert God's power over life, and His ability to protect from death, there is no reason why "I make alive" should not be translated "I keep alive", leaving the problem of death and resurrection still to be solved.

VI. CONCLUSION

Two important points may be observed in this chapter. First, in all of these passages which are often cited as describing resurrection or the elimination of death, it is possible to discount resurrection, or to find ways in which the passage may be interpreted without resurrection.

But secondly, it is important to note that the passages become progressively more difficult to discount. More appropriate interpretations may easily be found for the passages in Hosea. The passage from Ezekiel is explicitly a resurrection, but is symbolic. Isaiah 25:8 and Isaiah 26:19, ~~also~~, generally dated as post-exilic, are quite difficult to discount.

If all these passages are discounted as literal resurrection passages, this means that, more and more often, Israel's writers

14. See p. 49

used the language and figure of resurrection to express the process of separation and then reunion with God. As we reach the end of Old Testament times, the form of resurrection exists; the thought-category has been worked out. The concept of resurrection now only awaits the final impulse to fill it, the decision that the concept of resurrection should be taken literally, and should be applied to individuals.

CHAPTER V

THE RESURRECTION IN THE BOOK OF DANIEL

In the previous chapter, evidence was found indicating that the "resurrection" passages of the OT preceding the book of Daniel need not necessarily be read as literal statements of a doctrine of resurrection from death. But in the book of Daniel, in the climactic completion of the prophet's vision of the future, we are given a passage which unequivocally introduces the concept.

At that time shall arise Michael, the great prince who has charge of your people. And there shall be a time of trouble, such as never has been since there was a nation till that time; but at that time your people shall be delivered, every one whose name shall be found written in the book. And many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And those who are wise shall shine like the brightness of the firmament; and those who turn many to righteousness, like the stars for ever and ever. (Dan 12:1-3)

I. THE BOOK OF DANIEL

If the idea of miraculously accurate prophecy is discounted, the book of Daniel can be dated with extreme precision. In the prophecies revealed to Daniel, the last correct event predicted is the profanation of the temple (Dan 11:31), which took place in December 167 B.C. The death of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (163 B.C.) and the restoration of sacrifice in the temple are incorrectly prophesied. Thus the book was completed between 166 and 164 B.C.

The completed book of Daniel was "published" in a period of great upheaval. Antiochus IV Epiphanes seized the throne of the Greek Seleucid kingdom of Syria, of which Israel was a part, from

its rightful, but absent, heir at his brother's death in 175 B.C. Antiochus began to play politics with the priesthood in Jerusalem. The profits this gave him, and the difficulties it caused when conservative Jews protested, eventually led Antiochus to the decision to eliminate conservative Judaism as a strong religious force. He embarked on a course of direct persecution and Hellenization, forcing Jews to violate their commandments and statutes of their Lord.

About 170 B.C., in the small city of Modein, when a Jew and the king's officer were about to make a heathen sacrifice, a conservative priest named Mattathias killed them, and sparked the Maccabean revolution. (1 Macc 2:23-27) The revolt, led by Mattathias' son Judas Maccabeas, was eventually successful, although not before there had been terrible fighting and suffering in the land of Israel.

Daniel is a collection of stories about a wise and righteous Jew living in exile in Babylon in the 6th century B.C., under Babylonian and Persian kings. Daniel and his devout Jewish friends successfully endure a variety of persecutions. They refuse to violate their dietary laws, or to make prayers to anyone but the Lord; and they have no fear of the consequences, whether it is the fiery furnace or the lions' den. Although the Lord does miraculously deliver them, they are prepared to accept their fate without being saved by Him. As Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego stoically tell King Nebuchadnezzar:

If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us out of your hand, O king. But if not, be it known to you, O king, that we will not serve your gods or worship the golden image you have set up. (Dan 3:17-18)

At the end of the book, Daniel has a series of visions which reveal the history which will come to pass from his time until the 2nd century B.C., when the vision culminates in Antiochus' persecution, a rather slighting reference to the Maccabeans' efforts ("When they fall they shall receive a little help." Dan 11:34), warfare, and finally the coming of Michael the great prince, and a resurrection, in the passage quoted at the beginning of this chapter. At the end of the prophetic vision, Daniel is told to "seal up the book until the time of the end." (Dan 12:4)

Twice in the book of Ezekiel, Daniel is mentioned together with Noah and Job as the archetype of the righteousness man. (Ezek 14:14,20) It is probably that an author in the 2nd century B.C. took this figure of Daniel and wrote, or rewrote, stories about him which could encourage Jews to hold true to their faith in the face of persecution. Then, as Porteous suggests,¹ as the intensity of the persecutions increased, the author probably gave his collection a more theological framework, writing it in classical Hebrew, to encourage Jews to believe that, even if it seemed as if Israel and the Lord's cult were about to be destroyed completely, in the end, (and the end was coming very soon) the Lord would assert Himself.²

1. Porteous, Norman W. Daniel: A Commentary (Philadelphia, 1965, The Westminster Press) p. 18

2. Whether the pseudonymity of the book was intended to deceive, and consequently the extent to which its first readers accepted the literal validity of its prophecies is a matter of debate. However, the function of the book remains the same, and its doctrines were swiftly accepted by many Jews. See Porteous, loc cit.

II. ISRAEL'S NEW SITUATION

Already we have seen how the fall of Jerusalem was a turning point in Israel's history, and her understanding of God's manner of bringing judgment.³ As Israel changed from a power among the nations to a minor portion of an empire, the emphasis placed on God's judgment became increasingly individualistic. But Israel was still allowed to maintain her cult, and to worship the Lord according to His commandments and statutes. While hope faded of regaining national power through God's reward of national righteousness, men could be judged according to their individual performances, and could hope to be rewarded by God with a full and prosperous life.

But under the persecution of Antiochus, the position was suddenly reversed. Now righteousness, and faithful obedience to the Lord's commandments and statutes were directly connected with death. 1 Maccabees tells of a group of 1000 devout Jews who, rather than violating the Lord's sabbath by defending themselves, decided: "Let us die in our innocence; heaven and earth testify for us that you are killing us unjustly." (1 Macc 2:37) Mattathias and his followers decided that they should fight, even if it meant violating the sabbath:

If we do as our brethren have done and refuse to fight with the Gentiles for our lives and our ordinances, they will quickly destroy us from the earth.
(1 Macc 2:40)

But the author of Daniel's slighting reference to the Maccabeans as "a little help," his stories of Daniel and his friends, who sought only to obey their laws, and his expectation that God would intervene

3. See p. 46

in the near future all indicate that his sympathy and approval would be with the Jews who maintained their innocence, and accepted the consequence of death.

This view, however, places a terrible strain on Israel's religion. No longer is the solution of Jesus ben Sirach merely unsatisfactory; dramatically it was being contradicted. Now righteousness leads to death. How could the Living God allow this to happen in justice? Something new was necessary to preserve the association between righteousness and life, some radical new doctrine or understanding of how God maintained His justice.

III. THE RESURRECTION IN DANIEL

At the end of Daniel the new step was taken. The narrative of the future revealed to Daniel ends with Michael, "the great prince," an angel from God coming to deliver the people of Israel, "everyone whose name shall be written in the book" (Dan 12:1), that is, if God is just, all the righteous members of the community. And then there is a resurrection. "Those who sleep in the dust," who did not receive justice in their lifetime are raised to receive either eternal life, as a reward for righteousness, or eternal shame and contempt as the punishment for wickedness. And so, in resurrection, God's justice is indeed affirmed.

The passage is a very brief one. "The time of the end" which God brings takes only three verses to describe. But brief as it is, it is the climax toward which the entire historical narrative has been working. One special proof is that the deaths of the righteous under the persecution of Antiochus are described in a way which obviously prepares for their resurrection ending:

And those among the people who are wise shall make many understand, though they shall fall /stumble/ by sword and flame, by captivity and plunder, for some days....And some of those who are wise shall fall /stumble/ to refine and to cleanse among them, and to make them white, until the time of the end, for it is yet for the time appointed /for the time appointed is yet to come/. (Dan 11:33,35n)

It is these wise men, who "turn many to righteousness", who, in the time of the end will "shine like the brightness of the firmament" and "like stars for ever and ever." (Dan 12:3) This preparation shows that, in spite of its brevity, the resurrection passage is indeed the climax of the whole.

The passage is also definitely one of resurrection. Paradoxically, one proof is the fact that the author in a sense seems to avoid a direct statement of resurrection, which would have been a new and perhaps non-Jewish idea, by avoiding any specific statement that the resurrected righteous ones have died. While we know (if only from historical sources) that in the conventional sense they did die, the author speaks only of their "stumbling" by the sword and flame. And as dead men, they are called "those who sleep in the dust of the earth." (Dan 12:2) The word used here is not shakab, "to lie down", the euphemism used in the death-formula of the kings of Israel, "and he slept with his fathers."⁴ The author of Daniel uses yashen, which is not death but a deep sleep, the sleep of Adam when his rib is taken (Gen 2:21), and of Samson when Delilah shaves him. (Judg 16:19) The word is nowhere associated with death, except for two usages in a passage in Jeremiah, where the Lord vows he will punish the leaders of Babylon by making them

4. See p. 114

drunk, so that they will "sleep an everlasting sleep." (Jer 51:39, 57) And so the author of Daniel has, in the strict sense, avoided the new concept of resurrection by avoiding death. The righteous have not died. They have stumbled, they sleep; but they will awake and rise to everlasting life. The fact that he avoids making a statement of resurrection seems to be the clearest evidence of the fact that he is indeed introducing a new concept.

Two special aspects should be noted about this resurrection. First, it is limited. It is not universal, but concerns only those who have not already received God's justice. The concept is not introduced for its own sake, but only to affirm God's final justice.

Secondly, the passage introduces, in a subtle way, some very new concepts. Unlike earlier visions, such as Isaiah 65, which extend normal life, Daniel does seem to introduce eternal life. The wise, and those who turn many to righteousness (who may be a special class among the delivered people of Israel) are somehow transformed, so that they shine like the sky and the stars. The new life which comes with the end is not explained in terms of normal fertility, as it has been in the earlier scenes of Israel's literature which present God's final reign. It is something new, and strange, shining beyond our understanding.⁵

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5. The use of Michael, the great prince, and this resurrection would suggest the influence of Persian religion. The nature of this influence is beyond the scope of this thesis, as noted in the introduction; and while the author of Daniel may be introducing foreign ideas, he also seems to underplay them, and avoid any obvious direct influence.

IV. RESURRECTION AFTER DANIEL

Brief as it is, this resurrection in the book of Daniel seems to have been a major turning point in Jewish doctrine. Although the debate about whether or not there was a resurrection was still going on in New Testament times, many Jews saw in the concept the answer they had needed to affirm their faith in God's justice when righteousness, and faithfulness to His commandments and statutes might lead them to suffering and death.

The legendary story of the widow and her seven sons facing the persecution of Antiochus in 2 Maccabees demonstrates the support this faith could give. For these pious Jews, the resurrection was a simple, almost mechanical matter to be taken for granted. In a typical statement, one of the brothers stretches out his hands to have them chopped off, rather than eat swine's flesh, saying:

I got these from Heaven, and because of his laws I disdain them, and from him I hope to get them back again. (2 Macc 7:11)

The mother's final words to her last son are:

Accept death, so that in God's mercy I may get you back again with your brothers. (2 Macc 7:29)

Jewish apocalyptic literature quickly began to develop and elaborate the concept of resurrection. Enormous, complex structures were worked out, describing the manner of existence of men waiting for the resurrection, or the manner of life they enjoyed after it. It often seems too complicated and mechanical to take seriously; but all the mass of literature shows that the three rather vague verses at the end of Daniel did provide the answer awaited by Jews who had faith in God's justice, and who believed that His justice would be given in life.

About two centuries after the time of Daniel, one Jewish sect arose which claimed that their leader, Jesus of Nazareth, a teacher who had been publicly executed by the Roman authorities, had risen from the dead. And the faith of the church centered around the certainty of this resurrection of Jesus whom they called the Christ. As one of the sect's early apologists stated it:

If the dead are not raised, then Christ has not been raised. If Christ has not been raised, your faith is futile and you are still in your sins.... If for this life only we have hoped in Christ, we are of all men most to be pitied. (I Cor 15:16-19)

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This thesis has been an attempt to examine the doctrine of resurrection in the Old Testament, and to discover reasons why, while it is not present in the early sections, the doctrine is at last stated unequivocally in one of the latest sections, the book of Daniel.

In Chapter II we saw that life comes from God, and that in the earliest strands of Hebrew thought there is no concept of life after death for the individual. As thought progressed, however, there was more concern for the fate of the individual, and a concept of existence for the individual's "center of consciousness" did evolve when it was necessary to discuss the problem.

In Chapter III we saw that the judgment of God is always closely associated with the concept of life. The wicked are to be punished with death, and the righteous are to be rewarded with life, and with the fertility and prosperity that supports life. At first this life was seen in terms of the community; but as the community of Israel lost hope of being a great national power with control over her own prosperity, or life, the emphasis shifted to God's judgment of the individual. The fall of Jerusalem, in the 6th century B.C. was a major turning point in this gradual movement.

God's judgment upon the individual was still stated in terms of life and death, but there were tensions, for men could easily see that the righteous were not always suitably rewarded in life, nor were the wicked always justly punished. Yet faith in God's eventual justice was still maintained.

In Chapter IV we examined OT passages which appear to speak of resurrection, and found that, while in almost all cases it is not necessary to read them as literal presentations of a new doctrine of resurrection, the language and imagery used was gradually becoming more direct and realistic, and came closer and closer to setting forth the doctrine. Yet none of these passages spoke clearly enough to solve the problem of the judgment of the individual by making his resurrection be the reward for his righteousness.

Finally, in Chapter V, we saw that when the tension of this problem was taken to an extreme, in the 2nd century B.C., by Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who, by his persecution, made Jewish righteousness lead to death, faith in God's justice forced the conclusion of an unequivocal expression of resurrection in the climax of the book of Daniel.

Often, in our own lives, we see good men suffer and die, and we see wicked men triumph. We find our own selves in situations where a good action will hurt us, cause us suffering, and may even lead us to death, while an evil action would make our lives more comfortable and pleasant. Why, if life is like this, should we choose to do what is good?

There can be no satisfactory answer other than some sort of faith in doing good. And the Old Testament gives us an example of the evolution of that kind of faith through a history of testing. Throughout her history, as recorded in these writings, the faith of Israel never swerved from the belief that God is just, that He will establish His justice, in the end, for the nation and for the individual, that He will reward the men who are righteous. In the end, Israel was led to the conclusion that God's justice cannot be

expected in our present lives, before our death; and so Israel's faith brought her to believe in a resurrection, a return to life, a life in which God's justice would be truly established, a life which would give us reason to follow righteousness in this mortal life, even if following it brings us into suffering and death.

It is easy to make this belief a limited, mechanical sort of resurrection, one which returns us to the world as we know it, only with all troubles and pain and threats to life removed. Some apocalyptic literature has this tendency. But Daniel and others point to the solution that the life which God's justice will bring us is not simply life as we know it; it is something more, something we cannot understand. But it is life, life given us by the justice and love of the Living God.

As believing Christians, we have not only been brought to a doctrine of resurrection by our Jewish heritage, but we have seen this new life, through faith, in the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

"Christ has been raised from the dead, the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep." (I Cor 15:20)

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